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ABSTRACT

Results of a study involving 450 teachers in three California school districts show that two sets of standards exist for judging the effectiveness of teacher unions. For union leaders, legitimacy means keeping promises to teachers by winning concessions from management and, at the same time, working toward a more credible and cooperative relationship with management. Teachers, however, perceive union status less as what unions are able to win than the apparent acceptance by the school board of the union as the teacher representative. Teachers' perceptions of the tone of labor relations also are strongly influenced by the way in which the administration is seen as treating the teachers themselves: being open and above board, reasonable, and innovative in school operations. The results of four multiple regressions and a path analysis have significant implications for unions and administrators. Unions must shift efforts away from militant activities and toward interpreting teachers' needs for responsible administration. Administrators should be less concerned that the union threatens managerial rights and recognize the need for innovative programs and open policy making. Teachers want both legitimate unions and good schools, and they see no conflict in having both. Eight tables and a brief bibliography are included. (IW)

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The Tone of Labor Relations in Schools: Correlates of Teacher Perception

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Presented at the American Education Research Association Annual Meeting (San Francisco April 16-20, 1986)

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For teacher unions, legitimatizing is partly a matter of being accepted by "the other side" (or by whatever name management is known) and partly a matter of being accepted by the rank-and-file of teachers. Union organization is, thus, somewhat like a political campaign. Converts are sought, and promises are made. (Maitland, 1985)

Union leaders generally accept the belief that the continued legitimacy of their union rests on fulfilling their promises: basically their ability to win concessions from management. The stage is set for a kind of "box score unionism" in which union leaders believe that a demonstrated ability to strike and achieve concessions is necessary to produce a more credible and ultimately cooperative relationship with management.

However, the results of the research reported here suggest that rank-and-file teachers (at least those 450 teachers we studied) had quite a different calculus by which they judged labor relations. For them, the tone of labor relations - from conflict to cooperation - was only very weakly related to what unions achieved from management. Rather, teachers perceptions of labor relations were strongly related to their opinions of how the school board and administration acted. That is, teacher perception of labor relations is more a function of the legitimacy accorded the union by management and less a zero-sum game in which union status rests on a long string of "wins" and few "losses." If this finding is representative, it signals a substantial difference between the expectation of union leadership and that of the teachers.

This paper reports the results of a study conducted during the spring of 1983 in three California school districts. Questionnaire responses were obtained from some 450 teachers, virtually the entire faculty of ten school sites. Since all three districts were in one state and in the same urban areas, factors such as state funding formulas, bargaining legislation, and enrollment trends were constant. Also, all three districts had a history of collective bargaining dating back to 1976 when the Education Employee Relations Act was instituted, and all three are represented by affiliates of the National Education Association.

Survey results were analyzed using multiple regression and path analysis in order to discover the attributes of labor relations associated with a high trust, cooperative bargaining relationship.

The study continues a line of research initiated by Kerchner and Mitchell (1981) [Also see Mitchell, et al., 1981] This study used a similar methodology, and it repeated most questionnaire items. The study was underwritten by the Center for Educational Policy and Management at the University of Oregon.

THE RESEARCH SITES

Data were gathered during May/June 1983 in three districts selected because each had a history of active labor relations, but not currently hostile ones. In-depth interviews were conducted with the superintendent, the union president, the union executive director, and the chief negotiators. From these interviews a history of labor relations in the district was

constructed. Based on the recommendation of the superintendent and union president, school sites were selected and in-depth interviews were conducted with the principal to discover how the contract was implemented at the school site. The principals arranged for the researchers to attend faculty meetings and distribute a questionnaire to teachers. Because of this means of data acquisition, the response rate was very high, virtually a population response. The exception was one small elementary school on a year-around-schedule where approximately 25 percent of the faculty was on vacation. In addition, almost 20 percent of the teacher respondents volunteered to be interviewed further.

The questionnaire (reproduced in Kerchner, 1986) consisted of three major sections. The first, section contained background questions, i.e. gender, ethnic group, length of service, credentials, and teaching specialization. The second section was a set of questions which used Likert scales to measure teacher attitudes about the union, the administration, and the school board. The third section, which is not reported here, asked teachers about the nature of their work (see Kerchner, 1986).

The respondent group was 60 percent male and 70 percent non-minority. Almost 50 percent have an M.A. degree. There was a disproportionate number of high school teachers and more than 50 percent of the sample had taught for more than sixteen years (see Table 1).

The three California districts studied are given the names Albright, Gateway City, and Point George. The status of labor relations in the three districts is described by using responses to two questions in the survey. One question asks about

Table 1

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES BY DISTRICT

	Elementary	Middle	H.S.	Total
Gateway	31	50	74	155
Albright	17	26	49	92
Pt.Geor.	0	0	192	192
Total	48	76	315	439

NUMBER OF YEARS TAUGHT

	Total (%)	Gateway (%)	Albright (%)	Pt. George (%)
1. 1st year	2.1	3.2	1.1	1.6
2. 1-3 yrs	5.2	5.2	5.4	5.2
3. 4-7 yrs	12.3	19.4	13.0	6.3
4. 8-11 yrs	17.1	24.5	26.1	6.9
5. 12-15 yrs	14.8	11.6	18.5	15.9
6. 16+ yrs	47.8	36.1	35.9	63.0
mean	4.8	4.45	4.63	5.22
Number	439			

the level of conflict in labor relations, the other asks about whether the school board accepts collective bargaining. Tables 2 and 3 summarize the responses to the questions. There is some variation among the three districts in terms of the union's legitimacy and the conflict levels.

Teachers in the Albright District have a relatively high level of perceived conflict (the mean is 2.30 "armed truce") and a low level of perceived union legitimacy (mean 3.80). Prior to 1976 this district had agreements with the teacher organization that were limited in scope and very likely unenforceable. There was a one-day strike in 1976 during the negotiation of the first contract under EERA. Conflict in the district remains high but a recent history of contentious board relationships accounts for much of the conflict rather than union-administration disputes. In fact, the teacher organization is perceived to be a stable element in the district. During the period of the study, the school board had indicated it wanted labor peace.

Point George has a lower level of conflict (the mean is 3.03, "some trust") and a lower level of perceived union legitimacy (the mean is 3.02). Both the teacher organization and the administration pride themselves on the "cooperative mode" of bargaining that has developed. There is a long history of governing the district through a consensus mode of decision making which utilizes task forces to study issues and recommend action. The union has representatives on each task force and the topics of discussion are much broader than the scope allowed under the EERA. The contract negotiated is very slim because

TABLE 2

Labor Relations Conflict Level

	All Districts	District Albright	District Pt. Geo.	District Gateway	
Open	35.00	20.00	15.00	0	Number
Warfare (1)	8.30	22.70	8.30	0	%
Armed	94.00	40.00	42.00	12.00	
Truce (2)	22.00	45.50	23.20	7.80	
Some	117.00	14.00	64.00	29.00	
Trust 3)	27.70	15.90	35.40	25.30	
Peaceful (4)	107.00	9.00	42.00	56.00	
Coexistence	25.30	10.20	25.20	36.40	
Active (5)	70.00	5.00	18.00	47.00	
Cooperation	16.50	5.70	9.90	30.50	
Mean	3.20	2.30	3.03	3.90	
Mode	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	

Question: Please give us your impression of the overall tone of labor relations in your district. (variable 10)

TABLE 3

Labor Relations Conflict Level

		All Districts	District Albright	District Pt. Geo.	District Gateway	
Disagree	(1)	52.00	11.00	30.00	1.00	Number
		12.00	12.20	16.40	0.70	%
	(2)	42.00	11.00	46.00	4.00	
		9.70	12.20	25.10	2.60	
	(3)	51.00	9.00	37.00	11.00	
		11.80	10.00	20.10	7.30	
	(4)	96.00	29.00	45.00	30.00	
		22.20	32.20	24.80	19.90	
	(5)	72.00	19.00	13.00	35.00	
		16.70	21.10	7.10	23.10	
	(6)	88.00	6.00	10.00	47.00	
		20.40	6.70	5.50	31.10	
Agree	(7)	31.00	5.00	2.00	23.00	
		7.20	5.60	1.10	15.20	
Missing		7.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	
N		439.00	92.00	192.00	155.00	
Mean		4.12	3.80	3.02	5.17	
SD		1.79	1.63	1.45	1.39	

Question: The School Board in this district accepts as legitimate the rights of teachers to bargain collectively.

many of the district's old policies and procedures still govern. As an example, the grievance procedure in the contract is seldom used, but a separate "problem solving procedure" which parallels the grievance procedure is used frequently by both the union and administration. As a result there are very few formal grievances filed in the district.

Gateway City has the lowest conflict level (mean is 3.90, placing it in "peaceful coexistence") and markedly higher union legitimacy ratings (mean 5.17). There was a period of conflict in the district prior to the EERA while the union expanded and consolidated its power. Since 1976, contracts have been negotiated without serious conflict after the union and superintendent agreed to use a "mutual problem solving approach" to bargaining. There have been no grievances filed in the last two years. Problems are handled by holding a meeting with the teacher, the union president, and the principal.

The teacher attitudes about the union and school management are measured by answers to several questions. The responses that measure the teacher perceptions of the union are summarized in Table 4. Teacher perceptions of school management are summarized in Table 5.

In Albright almost 40 percent of the respondents disagree or strongly disagree the teachers organization is strong and is successful at obtaining pay and benefits, while almost 60 percent disagree or strongly disagree the union is likely to strike.

The Albright respondents give low marks to the school administration. Almost 60 percent of the respondents disagree or strongly disagree the administration is successful at running the

TABLE 4

TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF THE TEACHER'S ORGANIZATION

Variable 11 - the teacher's organization is strong/well organized

		Total %	Albright %	Gateway %	Pt.George %
disagree	1	10.9	13.0	.6	18.2
	2	9.8	12.0	3.2	14.1
	3	8.9	13.0	1.9	12.5
mixed	4	18.7	21.7	12.9	21.9
	5	16.6	12.0	16.8	18.8
	6	23.5	21.7	30.7	12.0
agree	7	10.7	5.4	25.2	1.6
mean		4.35	3.96	5.60	3.52
number		435	91	154	190

Variable 19 - the teacher's organization is likely to strike

		Total %	Albright %	Gateway %	Pt.George %
disagree	1	36.8	23.9	24.5	51.0
	2	21.0	19.6	18.1	22.9
	3	13.8	13.0	18.7	9.4
mixed	4	16.6	17.4	21.9	10.9
	5	6.5	12.0	8.4	2.1
	6	4.4	7.6	5.8	1.6
agree	7	0.9	4.3	2.6	2.1
mean		2.52	3.14	2.89	1.92
number		429	90	151	188

Variable 20 - the teacher's organization is successful at obtaining pay and benefits

		Total %	Albright %	Gateway %	Pt.George %
disagree	1	13.4	12.0	2.6	25.0
	2	12.1	13.0	3.9	19.3
	3	11.2	13.0	5.2	16.1
mixed	4	15.0	17.4	10.3	21.9
	5	13.7	23.9	38.7	11.5
	6	18.5	15.2	36.8	3.6
agree	7	14.6	4.3	2.6	1.6
mean		4.19	3.92	5.94	2.93
number		432	91	151	190

TABLE 5

TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

Variable 26 - the school board makes all important policy decisions openly and with adequate input from interested parties.

		Total %	Albright %	Gateway %	Pt.George %
disagree	1	18.7	35.9	5.2	21.4
	2	15.0	21.7	10.3	15.6
	3	14.4	20.7	10.3	14.6
mixed	4	19.4	12.0	23.2	19.8
	5	15.3	6.5	23.2	13.0
	6	12.3	2.2	20.6	10.4
agree	7	3.4	.0	4.5	4.2
mean		3.49	2.37	4.33	3.36
number		432	91	151	190

Variable 21 - the administration is successful running the schools

		Total %	Albright %	Gateway %	Pt.George %
disagree	1	11.6	29.3	1.9	10.9
	2	11.2	15.2	3.9	15.1
	3	10.7	14.1	5.2	13.5
mixed	4	17.3	23.9	11.6	18.8
	5	17.1	12.0	20.0	17.2
	6	24.4	3.3	43.2	19.3
agree	7	6.8	1.1	13.5	4.2
mean		4.19	2.88	5.29	3.92
number		435	91	154	190

Variable 23 - the administration emphasizes innovation

		Total %	Albright %	Gateway %	Pt.George %
disagree	1	11.8	20.7	2.6	15.1
	2	8.2	9.8	3.9	10.9
	3	13.7	20.7	5.2	17.2
mixed	4	19.1	22.8	16.8	19.3
	5	19.8	16.3	21.9	19.8
	6	19.6	7.6	37.4	10.9
agree	7	6.6	1.1	11.0	5.7
mean		4.13	3.32	5.10	3.74
number		434	91	153	190

schools while only sixteen percent of the respondents agree or strongly agree. Almost 80 percent disagree or strongly disagree the school board makes important policy decisions openly and 50 percent disagree or strongly disagree the administration emphasizes innovation. The means for all three questions about school management are the lowest among the three districts surveyed.

The teacher organization at Point George scored low marks. Sixty percent of the respondents disagree or strongly disagree the teacher organization is successful at obtaining pay and benefits while 34 percent disagree or strongly disagree the organization is strong and well organized. Eighty percent strongly disagree or disagree the organization is likely to strike. The teachers' perceptions of the school management include 50 percent who disagree or strongly disagree the school board makes decisions openly. There are also 40 percent who disagree or strongly disagree the administration is successful at running the schools and that the administration emphasizes innovation. These findings conflict with the belief among the superintendent and the union leadership that the district practices consensus management.

In Gateway City, consistent with the high union legitimacy, more than 70 percent of the respondents agree or strongly agree the teacher's organization is strong and well organized and almost 80 percent rate the union as successful in obtaining pay and benefits. Of the three districts, this one had the highest mean for both questions. Consistent with the low level of conflict is that 60 percent of the respondents disagree the union

is likely to strike.

Gateway City teachers also have positive attitudes about the administration. Some 75 percent agree or strongly agree the administration is successful at running the schools. Almost 50 percent agree or strongly agree the school board makes important policy decisions openly; and 70 percent agree or strongly agree the administration emphasizes innovation. The means for the questions about the school management are also the highest for all three districts.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Four regression analyses were run in order to discover the predictors of a cooperative tone of labor relations as well as teacher perceptions of school management and the union. Each regression discussed used the stepwise method of entry with .10 as the threshold of significance and pairwise deletion of missing data.

In the first, the dependent variable in the regression was formed by answers to the question: "Please give us your impression of the overall tone of labor relations in this district". Possible answers ranged from "open warfare" to "active cooperation" (a summary of the responses is in Table 2). The independent variables were selected by running a correlation matrix with the tone variable and the second set of questions in the survey, i.e. regarding teacher attitudes about the administration, school board, and union. Those with a high degree of correlation (13 variables) were selected as independent variables for a regression analysis with, "the tone of labor relations" as the depen-

dent variable. Five out of the 13 variables selected entered as significant in the equation. The multiple R was .59 indicating the regression predicted 34 percent of the variance. The variable to enter with the highest beta (.25) was "the school board makes all important policy decisions openly and with adequate input." The second variable has a negative beta (-.18) which indicates that when the school board is "characterized by high conflict, loud debates and split votes on important issues," the tone of labor relations has less cooperation. The other three variables that predict a cooperative tone are when the school board accepts collective bargaining (beta .14), when the school board is satisfied with its relationship with the teachers (beta .13), and when the administration emphasizes innovation (beta .14) Table 6 summarizes the results.

There are several unexpected results in the regression. First, none of the questions about the teacher's union are significant predictors of a cooperative tone of labor relations. The importance of the school board making policy decisions openly and the administration emphasizing innovation indicates a cooperative tone is coupled with a consultative style of management.

The second regression used the same independent variables with the dependent variable, "the administration acts responsibly in dealing with teachers." Six of the variables entered the equation as significant; the multiple R was .82 indicating that 67 percent of the variation was explained. The predictors of the administration's being perceived by teachers as acting responsibly is when the administration emphasizes innovation (beta

TABLE 6

STEPWISE REGRESSION

Depen.Var 10 Tone of Labor Relations

Independent Variable		Beta
Var 26	School Board: Open Policy	.25
Var 25	Sch.Bd. charac. by High Conflict/Debate	-.18
Var 28	Sch.Bd Accepts Collective Barg.	.14
Var 29	Sch.Bd satisfied with relationship w/tchrs	.13
Var 23	Admin. emphasizes innovation	.14

N= 407 Multiple R = .59 R Squared = 34% F= 41.85

Dep.Var 22 The admin. acts responsibly in dealing w/teachers

Independent Variable		Beta
Var 23	Admin. Emphasizes Innovation	.43
Var 26	Sch. Bd has open policy making	.25
Var 11	Tch. Organ is strong and well organized	.17
Var 28	Sch.Bd. Accepts Collective Barg.	.11
Var 25	Sch.Bd. High Conflict/Debates	-.08
Var 03	Years Taught	-.06

N= 407 Multiple R = .82 R Squared = 67%

teachers organization is strong and well organized (beta .17), and the school board accepts collective bargaining. (see Table 6) Once again the teachers support for open policy making and innovative programs is evident. In this regression the union is a significant predictor of a responsible administration.

The third regression was run used "the school board is well organized and efficient" as the dependent variable; and the questions about the school board and administration as independent variables. The regression had a high multiple R (.78) and as a result accounts for 61 percent of the variance. The school board is perceived by the teachers as well organized when it "makes all important policy decisions openly and with adequate input from all interested parties" (beta .34); and when the administration deals responsibly with teachers (beta .21), and emphasizes innovative programs (beta .17). When the school board is characterized by high conflict the perception that it is well organized declines. The assumption that the school board's acceptance of collective bargaining would be a significant variable was not confirmed. The results of the regression are summarized in Table 7.

The fourth regression used "the teachers organization is successful with management", as the dependent variable and the the questions about the union as the independent variables. The result was a high Multiple R (.89) and an R square of 78 percent. Factors such as competent leaders (beta .44), success at obtaining pay and benefits (beta .35), and attempting to influence the school board (beta .16) are the predictors the

TABLE 7

STEPWISE REGRESSION

Depen.Var. 24 The Sch. Bd. is well organized and efficient

The School Board/Administration Variables

Independent Variable		Beta
Var 26	Open Policy/Accepts input	.34
Var 22	Admin. deals responsibly w/teachers	.21
Var 29	Satisfied with Relationship w/teachers	.16
Var 23	Admin. emphasizes innovation	.17
Var 25	Sch. Bd. charac. by high conflict/debates	-.14
Var 27	Pre-Occupied with Collective Barg.	.09

N= 416 Multiple R = .78 R squared = 61% F= 108.66

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Depen.Var.12 The Teacher's Organ is successful w/management

The Teacher's Organization Variables

Independent Variable		Beta
Var 13	Competent Leaders	.44
Var 20	Success at Obtaining Pay/Benefits	.35
Var 15	Tries to influence the Sch.Bd.	.16
Var 19	Likely to Strike	.06

N = 421 Multiple R = .83 R Square = 70% F = 240.80

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union is strong and well organized, while being likely to strike did not enter the equation as significant. (see Table 7)

This analysis has significant implications for both the union and the administration. For union leaders, the important task is to shift efforts and energy away from militant activities toward interpreting the teachers need for responsible administration. For the administration, it is important to be less concerned that the union threatens managerial rights and recognize the need for innovative programs and open policy making.

PATH ANALYSIS MODEL

A path model was developed to better understand the interrelationships of a cooperative tone of labor relations, a strong union, and effective school management. First a hypothetical model was developed after studying the results of a series of regressions. In order to test the model three separate regressions (using stepwise entry and pairwise deletion of missing data) were run using the tone of labor relations; the administration acts responsibly in dealing with teachers; and the teacher's organization is successful in dealing with school management as the dependent variables (see Figure 1). The decomposition table summarizes the relationships between the variables (Table 8).

It was hypothesized that five variables had a direct bearing on the tone of labor relations. When the model was tested, only four of the variables entered as significant. (R square = .35) The union's success with management has little direct effect on the tone of labor relations (represented on the model as a dotted line). The path model confirms that the tone of labor relations

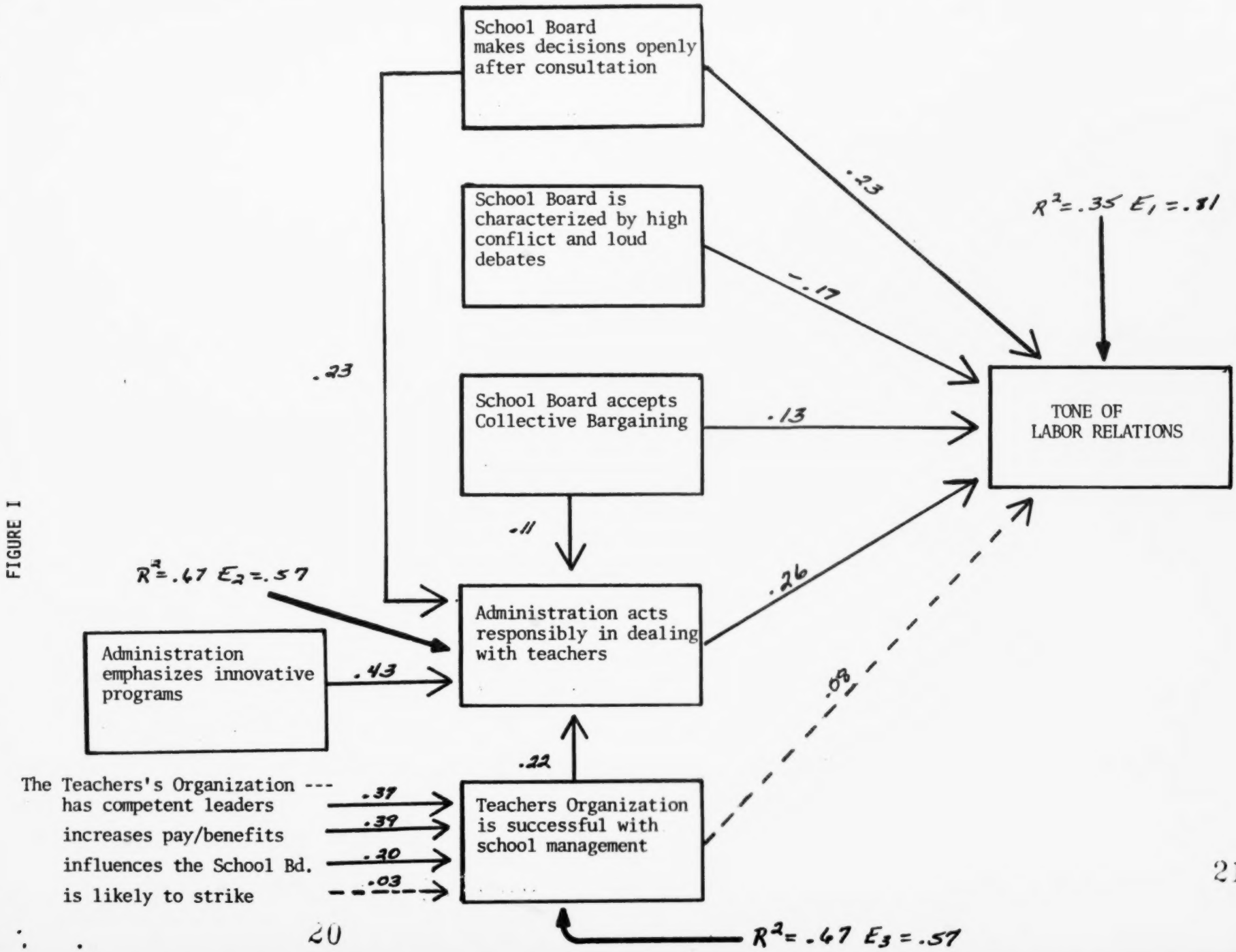
School Board makes decisions openly after consultation
School Board is characterized by high conflict and loud debates
School Board accepts Collective Bargaining
Administration acts responsibly in dealing with teachers
Administration emphasizes innovative programs
Teachers Organization is successful with school management
TONE OF LABOR RELATIONS
The Teachers's Organization ---
has competent leaders
increases pay/benefits
influences the School Bd.
is likely to strike
.23
-.17
.13
.23
-.11
.26
.43
.22
.08
.37
.39
.30
-.03
$R^2 = .35$ $E_1 = .81$
$R^2 = .47$ $E_2 = .57$
$R^2 = .47$ $E_3 = .57$

FIGURE I

TABLE 8

DECOMPOSITION OF BIVARIATE COVARIATION

Bivariate Relationship	Total Covariance A	Causal: Direct B	Causal: Indirect C	Causal: Total B+C=D	Noncausal A - D
v10/v26	.50	.23	.06	.29	.21
v10/v25	- .26	-.17	0	-.17	.09
v10/v28	.41	.13	.03	.16	.25
v10/v22	.52	.26	0	.26	.26
v10/v12	.42	.08	.06	.14	.28
v22/v12	.62	.22	0	.22	.40
v22/v23	.74	.43	0	.43	.31
v22/v26	.66	.23	0	.23	.43
v22/v28	.57	.11	0	.11	.46
v12/v13	.72	.37	0	.37	.35
v12/v20	.71	.39	0	.39	.32
v12/v15	.62	.20	0	.20	.42
v12/v19	.26	.03	0	.03	.23

VARIABLES USED IN THE PATH MODEL

var 10 - overall tone of labor relatons in the district
var 12 - teachers organization is successful w/management
var 13 - teachers organ. has competent leadership
var 15 - teachers organ. tries to influence board
var 19 - teachers organ. is likely to strike
var 20 - teachers organ. successful; obtains pay/beneftis
var 22 - administration acts responsibly w/teachers
var 23 - administration emphasizes innovation
var 25 - school board characterized by high conflict/debates
var 26 - sch. bd. makes important policy decisions openly
var 28 - sch. bd. accepts collective bargaining

in a district is dependent on the attitude of the school board and the administration. When the school board makes decisions openly, is not characterized by loud debates, accepts the right of teachers to bargain collectively, and the administration acts responsibly with teachers then the overall tone of labor relations will move toward trust and cooperation.

The teacher's think the union is successful with management when it has competent leaders, is successful at obtaining pay and benefits, and tries to influence the school board. (R square = .67) One of the hypothesized variables, the teachers organization is likely to go out on strike did not enter the equation as significant (represented on the model by a dotted line). This would indicate the teachers do not perceive the possibility of a strike as an indicator of success in dealing with management.

The administration is perceived as acting responsibly with teachers when it emphasizes the development of innovative programs and when the school board makes policy decisions openly. There is also a causal relationship between the union's success with management and the administration acting responsibly with teachers. (R square = .67) This is an indication the teacher's expect the union to insure they receive professional and fair treatment. Although the union does not have a direct influence on the tone of labor relations it does have an indirect effect though the administration variable.

Much of the hypothesized path model was confirmed and the results are consistent with the earlier regression findings. The administration is rated by the teachers as acting responsibly

when it emphasizes innovation and the school board makes important decisions openly and accepts collective bargaining. The teachers union is judged as successful with management when it causes the administration to act responsibly with teachers. The adminis-tration's acting responsibly with teachers causes there to be a cooperative tone of labor relations along with the school board accepting collective bargaining and making important decisions openly. The success of the union has no direct impact on the cooperative tone of labor relations, but there is an indirect causal relationship between the union and the tone through the administration because of the significant causal relationship between the teachers organization being successful and the administration acting responsibly with teachers.

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis suggests that in the minds of teachers good labor relations are not necessarily punctuated by evidence of militancy. This pattern of belief is consistent with the belief system that supports the good-faith bargaining mode of labor relations, which Kerchner and Mitchell (1981) call the Second Generation. In this belief system, militancy is seen as the failure of good faith negotiations and the breakdown of conflict management rather than a sign of successful teacher organization.

We are reminded that the ability to acquire concessions, or to win, is only one of the attributes of an established union. The other characteristic, which is fully perceived by these teachers, is that the union be regarded as legitimate by the school board and the administration. Thus, the tone of labor

relations reflects strong influence from the way in which the administration is perceived as treating teachers --- not just the union, but teachers in general --- and the apparent acceptance by the school board of the union as the teacher representative.

In addition, the path analysis leads us to recollect the extent to which psychological balance is involved in individual perception. When one looks at individual teachers across schools and districts, as does the path analysis presented here, one finds very strong tendencies toward consistency in belief about the school board, the union, and the administration. Teachers perception of a cooperative tone in labor relations coincide with a belief that the union is well run, that the school board is open and above board, and that the administration is both reasonable and innovative in the way it operate the schools.

This suggests that perceptions of union efficacy are not competitive with perceptions of the school as a well run organization. The teachers are not saying "its us versus them." Teachers want both legitimate unions and good schools, and they see no conflict between having both.

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